## Message Text

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**ORIGIN EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 035780

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO MNUC

SUBJECT: POLITICAL VIEWS ON NUCLEAR ASPECTS OF THE NUNN

AMENDMENT

REFS: USNATO 781; USNATO 848

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

- 1. WE WELCOME EFFORT ON THE PART OF SYG AND OTHER ALLIES TO DEVELOP AN UNCLASSIFIED RESPONSE TO SECDEF'S LETTER OF NOVEMBER 5 REGARDING THE NUCLEAR STUDY BEING UNDERTAKEN PURSUANT TO THE NUNN RESOLUTION. IN OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THE PRESENT DRAFT SHOULD NOT BE RELEASED FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION.
- 2. WE HOPE ALLIES WILL APPRECIATE THE FACT THAT IT IS SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT FOR US TO PARTICIPATE, AT LEAST INITIALLY, CONFIDENTIAL

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IN AN EFFORT TO DEVELOP A PUBLIC RESPONSE TO A LETTER

EMANATING FROM US SECDEF. THE DIFFICULTY IS COMPOUNDED BY THE FACT THAT IT RELATES TO A REPORT ON A HIGHLY SENSITIVE TOPIC, NOT YET WRITTEN, BY SECDEF TO CONGRESS. NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE WILLING TO COMMENT ON SUGGESTIONS MADE BY OTHERS TO MODIFY THE PRESENT DRAFT IN AN EFFORT TO MAKE IT LESS SENSITIVE AND PUT IT IN A FORM SUITABLE FOR UNCLASSIFIED PUBLICATION. (FYI: WE WOULD NOT WANT AN UNCLASSIFIED VERSION TO BE RELEASED WITHOUT FURTHER WASHINGTON REVIEW.)

- 3. IN THAT CONNECTION, WE WISH TO SHARE WITH THE ALLIES OUR THOUGHT THAT IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO DEVELOP AN UNCLASSIFIED LETTER. THE DANGER LIES IN THE FACT THAT MODIFYING THE PRESENT DRAFT SO THAT IT WILL BE SUITABLE FOR UNCLASSIFIED TRANSMISSION COULD MAKE IT MEANINGLESS EITHER AS A RESPONSE TO THE NOVEMBER 5 LETTER OR AS A PUBLIC INFORMATION EFFORT. AMONG THE MORE OBVIOUS PROBLEMS IN RENDERING SUCH A LETTER UNCLASSIFIED ARE REFERENCES TO EARLIER CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS, SUCH AS NOVEMBER 5 LETTER ITSELF, AND TO IMPLICATIONS FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS.
- 4. MISSION SHOULD DRAW ON FOREGOING IN INITIAL COMMENTS ON DRAFT LETTER ENSURING THAT THE ALLIES UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE NOT SEEKING TO PREVENT THE EFFORT TO DEVELOP AN UNCLASSIFIED RESPONSE FROM GOING FORWARD, BUT THAT WE DO NOT FEEL IT APPROPRIATE FOR THE US TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY ON AN INITIAL BASIS. FOR MISSION'S GUIDANCE, IN THE EVENT THAT OTHER DELEGATIONS ASK US REACTION TO VARIOUS SUGGESTED CHANGES, WE WOULD CONSIDER THAT FOLLOWING ALTERATIONS WHICH ARE KEYED TO USNATO 781 WOULD MOVE THE DRAFT LETTER IN AN ACCEPTABLE DIRECTION.

A) SUBSTITUTE FOR SECOND SENTENCE PARA 2 OF LUNS TEXT.
"THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE CURRENT RE-EVALUATION OF THE US
NUCLEAR WEAPONS POSTURE IN EUROPE IS BUT ONE ASPECT OF A
GENERAL REVIEW OF THE STRENGTH AND POSTURE OF US FORCES IN
EUROPE. THERE IS CERTAINLY NO AIM IN THIS STUDY TO REDUCE
THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES
IN THE NATO TRIAD."

SUBSTITUTE FOR LAST SENTENCE (PARA 1). CONFIDENTIAL

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"THEY ARE READY TO EXAMINE ON THEIR MERITS ANY CHANGES (FORCE STRUCTURE, DEPLOYMENTS, SECURITY, MODERNIZATION) WHICH THE US GOVERNMENT PROPOSES."

B) AFTER FIRST SENTENCE PARA 2 LUNS TEXT, PARA SHOULD READ: "THEY AGREE THAT ANY CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE PRESENT STOCKPILE SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN ONLY AFTER THE MOST CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THEIR MILITARY AND POLITICAL

EFFECTS AND IN THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION WITH THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND THE ALLIED NATIONS."

C) SUBSTITUTE FOR PARA 3 LUNS TEXT.

"THE ALLIES DRAW ATTENTION IN PARTICULAR TO THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS WHICH MUST BE CONSIDERED BEFORE ANY MAJOR NATO MILITARY RESTRUCTURING. FOR EXAMPLE,

UNJUSTIFIED MODIFICATIONS TO THE US NUCLEAR STOCKPILE IN EUROPE COULD BE MISINTERPRETED AS A WEAKENING OF THE NUCLEAR LEG OF THE NATO TRIAD OR AS A LESSENING OF THE US COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE. SUCH A PERCEPTION WOULD BE CRITICAL TO THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND TO MAINTENANCE OF THE DETERRENT. THE NEED TO PRESERVE BOTH IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE."

D) DELETE PARA 4 LUNS TEXT. AT THIS JUNCTURE WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES WILL RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED WITH SPEAKING EVEN IN VEILED TERMS OF US NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE IN CONNECTION WITH MBFR. WE SUGGEST THAT THE SYG INCORPORATE THE POINTS IN PARA 4 REFTELS IN THE CLASSIFIED NPG POLITICAL ASSESSMENT OR, POSSIBLY, IN A CLASSIFIED VERSION OF THE COVER LETTER WHICH COULD SUPPLEMENT ANY UNCLASSIFIED VERSION.

E) SUBSTITUTE FOR FIRST SENTENCE PARA 5 LUNS LETTER.
"THE ALLIES ARE CONFIDENT THAT THERE IS NO REAL DILEMMA
BETWEEN THE POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE IN THE NUCLEAR POSTURE OF
THE ALLIANCE AND THE NECESSITY TO FULLY CONSIDER THE
POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS INTRINSIC TO ANY
STOCKPILE RESTRUCTURING. ON NUCLEAR ISSUES, THE NUNN
AMENDMENT ITSELF CALLS FOR "THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RATIONAL
AND COORDINATED NUCLEAR POSTURE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THAT
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IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH PROPER EMPHASIS ON CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE FORCES"... INGERSOLL

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